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others which has been so notable in the career of his distinguished teacher and predecessor, Julian Morgenstern as well as such men as Judah Magnes. Nelson Glueck's profound humanity marks every step of his career. He always cherished warm friendship toward the Arabs. Successive wars between Arabs and Jews hurt him deeply but as a patriotic American he remained politically neutral, though as a loyal Jew he sympathized deeply with the predicament in which Jewish refugees from all over the Old World found themselves after the Holocaust and during new persecutions throughout the Moslem world and in many Christian and pagan lands.

WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT

SEAL-IMPRESSIONS IN THE ACHAEMENID STYLE IN THE PROVINCE OF JUDAH

EPHRAIM STERN

Anepigraphic seal-impressions depicting various animals have been found in excavations on many sites in the Jerusalem region: at Jerusalem proper, Tell en-Nasbeh, Gibeon, Mozah, Ramat Rahel, Jericho and En-Gedi.¹ Inscribed seal-impressions were also found at these sites and are generally considered as belonging to the province of Judah; these include several types of *yhwđ* and *mwš̄* impressions. The two types of seal-impressions have often been found in the same stratigraphical context. (A single seal-impression discovered outside the borders of Judah, in Shechem,² is an exception, though it hardly alters the general picture.)

Much has been written on the inscribed seal-impressions,³ whereas the

¹ See C. C. McCown, *Tell en-Nasbeh*, I (Berkeley, 1947), 154, Fig. 35; J. B. Pritchard, *The Water System of Gibeon* (Philadelphia, 1961), Fig. 46, Nos. 533 and 556; J. G. Duncan, *Digging Up Biblical History* (London, 1931), Pl. opp. p. 140; Y. Aharoni, *Excavations at Ramat Rahel, Seasons 1959 and 1960* (Rome, 1962), Fig. 9, 9-12 and Pl. 8, 6; Aharoni, *Excavations at Ramat Rahel, Seasons 1961 and 1962* (Rome, 1964), Pl. 21; E. Sellin and C. Watzinger, *Jericho* (Leipzig, 1913), Pl. 42n; B. Mazar and I. Dunayevsky, *Israel Exploration Journal*, XIV (1964), Pl. 27e; Y. Aharoni, *Yediot*, XIX (1954/55), p. 168, Pl. 8: 7-9 (Hebrew). The seal-impression from Mozah has not yet been published; I wish to thank Mr. A. Leon, of Jerusalem, for showing me the finds from the survey he conducted on this site.

² G. E. Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City* (New York, 1965), Fig. 93.

³ See E. L. Sukenik, *JPOS*, XIV (1934), 182-184; W. F. Albright, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, VI (1926), 93-102; *idem*, *BULLETIN*, No. 53 (Feb., 1934), 20-22; *idem*, *BULLETIN*, No. 148 (Dec., 1957), 28-30; L. H. Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, LVI (1949), 247-294; N. Avigad, *IEJ*, VII (1957), 146-153; *idem*, *BULLETIN*, No. 158 (Apr., 1960), 23-27; G. Garbini, in Y. Aharoni, *Excavations at Ramat-Rahel, Seasons of 1959-1960* (Rome, 1962), 61-68; Y. Aharoni, *op. cit.*, 29-34; *idem*, *Excavations at Ramat-Rahel Seasons of 1961-1962* (Rome, 1964), 19-22; 42-45; P. W. Lapp, *BULLETIN*, No. 172 (Dec., 1963), pp. 22-35; J. Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (Jerusalem; in press); F. M. Cross, *Eretz-Israel*, IX (1969), 20-27.

anepigraphic ones, surprisingly, have not attracted much attention. Except for short, technical descriptions in several reports, they have not received serious consideration.

From the study of the finds and their dating by the excavators the following picture arises. The type was first discovered at Jericho in the excavations of Sellin and Watzinger (1907-09), and was related by them to the "Jewish" period.⁴ Six seal-impressions were found in Jerusalem in a dump which also contained the *yhwd* type. Duncan remarks that the former were found lower than the seals of the *yhwd* type. He therefore considered them to be the earlier, though he was unable to establish this definitely. Relying upon this connection, and especially on the basis of the form of the jar-handles on which these impressions are found, the excavator believed them to belong to the fifth century B.C.⁵

The date of the five seal-impressions discovered at Tell en-Nasbeh⁶ was not established by McCown. He states, however, that one was found with "late MI material," whereas impression No. 6 was found in the same "square" as a sherd of imported Attic ware dating to "approximately 400 B.C."⁷ The richest and most heterogeneous group was found at Ramat Rahel. Aharoni at first believed (mainly on the basis of the form of the handles) that some of the seal-impressions were of the Iron Age, the rest belonging to the Persian period.⁸ During the third season, however, he noticed that "most of them were found scattered over the large courtyard together with many other stamps from the Persian period, whereas not a single one was found either in the filling under the pavements, or in other loci together with pure Iron Age material." Therefore, he assigned all of them to the Persian period.⁹

Two seal-impressions were found at Gibeon in the filling of the large pool at a considerable depth, one in the level between 9.80 and 10.00 m. and the other at 10.70-11.80 m. For this reason, and because of the form of the handles, Pritchard dated them to the end of the Iron Age.¹⁰

A single seal-impression from Shechem was assigned by Wright to stratum V.¹¹ The date of this stratum was established, by the Attic ware found there, as the first part of the Persian period (525-475 B.C.).¹²

Five seal-impressions were found at En-Gedi,¹³ all in a dump of the Persian period filling building 234. We assume the dump to comprise the remains of another building from the same period which had stood

⁴ Sellin and Watzinger, *Jericho*, Pl. 42n.

⁵ Duncan, *Digging Up Biblical History*, p. 142.

⁶ McCown, *Tell en-Nasbeh*, I, p. 154, Fig. 35. He gives drawings of seven seal-impressions, though they are very schematic (Nos. 1 and 7 are not of the type of impression under discussion).

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

⁸ Y. Aharoni, *Yediot*, XIX (1954/55), 168 (Hebrew).

⁹ Aharoni, *Ramat-Rahel*, 1959-1960, p. 34.

¹⁰ Pritchard, *Water System*, p. 20. The only parallel to seal-impression No. 556 that Pritchard gives is from the twelfth century B.C.! (*ibid.*, Fig. 46).

¹¹ Wright, *Shechem*, Fig. 93.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 238-241.

¹³ Mazar and Dunayevsky, *IEJ*, XIV (1964), 125. The four remaining seal-impressions have not yet been published.

on the slope. Although the Persian period stratum at En-Gedi (IV) is divided, on the basis of the Attic ware discovered there, into two phases (I: 500-375 B. C.; II: 375-350 B. C.),¹⁴ the mixed context of the find prevents us from determining to which of the phases these seal-impressions are to be assigned.

Finally, a seal-impression was found by chance on the hill between Mevaseret-Yerushalayim and the modern village of Mozah, at what is probably the site of ancient Mozah.¹⁵

Thus the date of the above seal-impressions is certainly within the Persian period.¹⁶ On the basis of the above data, moreover, it is possible to arrive at more definite chronological conclusions:

a) The close typological relationship between the handles on which these impressions are made and the jar-handles from the end of the Iron age (as already stressed by Duncan, McCown, Pritchard and Aharoni) shows that there was no time-lapse between the two types. As more Judean material from the late sixth century and the beginning of the fifth century B. C. is discovered, it is increasingly recognized that the same wares continued into the first part of the Persian period.

b) The seal-impression from stratum V at Shechem dates from no later than 475 B. C., since this date has been established as the lower limit of the stratum on the basis of Attic sherds.

c) The history of Gibeon during the Persian period is similar to that

¹⁴ See Mazar and Dunayevsky, *IEJ*, XVII (1967), 134-136.

¹⁵ The seal-impression from Mozah, as mentioned above, has not been published. Details concerning its discovery, and a photograph, were kindly given to the author by Mr. Leon. In addition to this impression, one of the *yhwd* type (as well as other Persian wares) was also discovered there.

¹⁶ Pritchard so far remains the only scholar to hold that these impressions are from the end of the Iron Age. His reliance upon Aharoni's initial assumption is not valid, as previously mentioned, for Aharoni has in the meantime changed his opinion (see the reference in n. 9 above). It is also evident that Pritchard has ignored completely the occupational stratum from the Persian period at Gibeon, though the existence of such a stratum is proven by the finds. Nor does he include this stratum in the list of the inhabited strata of the mound, though he himself has assigned some important finds to this period; see J. B. Pritchard, *Gibeon, Where the Sun Stood Still* (Princeton, 1962), Figs. 77-78. Many additional finds from the Persian period are mentioned in the several reports on excavations at Gibeon, such as seal-impressions of the *mush* type and a great deal of pottery, see J. B. Pritchard, *The Winery, Defences and Soundings at Gibeon* (Philadelphia, 1964), Fig. 50; Nos. 4 and 7. Lately Albright, Cross and Wright have suggested dating the well-known Gibeon inscriptions to the end of the sixth century B.C. This, too, is contrary to Pritchard's opinion. See W. F. Albright, *BULLETIN*, No. 159 (Oct., 1960), 37; No. 183 (Oct., 1966), 33; F. M. Cross, *BULLETIN*, No. 168 (Dec., 1962), 18-23; G. E. Wright, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXIII (1963), 210-211. It would seem that P. W. Lapp was correct in assuming that the settlement at Gibeon continued to exist during the sixth century B.C. even after the destruction of the First Temple, and was destroyed only at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. (like Tell el-Ful, Bethel and Shechem); see P. W. Lapp, *Biblical Archaeologist*, XXVII (1965), p. 6. Note that at Gibeon only anepigraphic impressions were found (with the exception of the *mush* impressions); the various *yhwd* impressions are entirely absent. This is chronologically indicative (see below).

of Shechem;¹⁷ the considerable depth at which the seals were found in the dump filling the pool is noteworthy.

Thus two additional hypotheses proposed by earlier excavators are confirmed: Duncan's assumption that the context of this type of seal-impressions at Jerusalem indicates them to be earlier than the *yhwd* type;¹⁸ and McCown's assumption that the seal-impressions at Tell en-Nasbeh, found in context with Attic ware, dated to ca. 400 B. C.¹⁹

It is possible to check this date in a different manner, by analyzing the motifs appearing on the seal-impressions. These may be divided into three main types:

A. The most common motif represents a lion in various positions: walking (Fig. 1); roaring, with mouth open wide and tail upturned (Fig. 2); and the forepart only (Fig. 3). In all three, the lion is shown

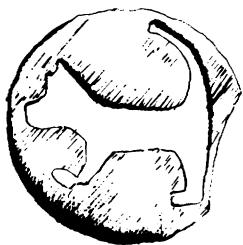


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

schematically, with no details given. One seal-impression from En-Gedi differs: the roaring lion appears here, but the craftsmanship is much finer than usual (Fig. 4).

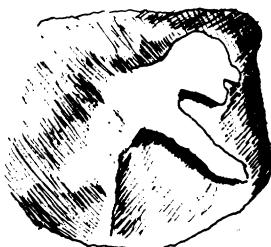


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

B. A group of three seal-impressions depicts a lion standing upright on his hind feet, the forepaws outstretched to the sides. Next to the lion

¹⁷ Wright, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XXIII, 210-211; cf. now P. W. Lapp, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXII (1968), 391-393.

¹⁸ Duncan, *Digging Up Biblical History*, p. 142.

¹⁹ McCown, *Tell en-Nasbeh*, I, pp. 154-155.

is another object which, in our opinion, is an altar (see below, and Figs. 5-7).

C. One seal-impression represents a bull with a solar orb between its horns (Fig. 8).

The distribution of the several types of seal-impressions (the three variations of type A are included under a single heading), can be summed up as follows:

Place	Type A	Type B	Type C	Total
Shechem	1	—	—	1
Tell en-Nasbeh	5	—	—	5
Gibeon	1	1	—	2
Mozah	1	—	—	1
Jerusalem	6	—	—	6
Ramat Rahel	36	2	7	45
Jericho	1	—	—	1
En-Gedi	5	—	—	5

The excavators have neglected entirely to analyse motifs, with the exception of that on type B (Figs. 5-7); Pritchard (and later Aharoni)



FIG. 5.

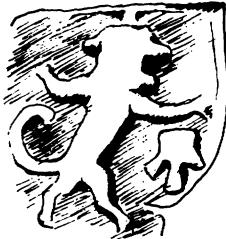


FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.

explained the central figure as a dragon or a lion standing on its hind feet, the forefeet outstretched to the sides. Both scholars, however, failed to explain the other objects.²⁰

These three seal-impressions, correctly interpreted, contain the key to the dating and the significance of the entire group. A thorough examination reveals the following picture.

The central motif is but a part of a scene appearing on Achaemenid seals, as actually found in the Persian imperial archives.²¹ Several

²⁰ Pritchard, *Water System*, opp. Fig. 46, in the explanation of seal-impression No. 556; Aharoni, *Ramat-Rahel*, 1960-1961, p. 45.

²¹ The principal hoards of Achaemenid seal-impressions, described by their excavators as coming from the imperial administrative archives, were discovered at Memphis, Dasylyium, Persepolis and Telloh; see W. M. F. Petrie, E. Mackay, and

similar impressions found in the archives at Persepolis and Ur (Figs. 9-10),²² show the complete scene: a lion pierced with arrows shot by



FIG. 8. Bull with solar orb.

the Persian monarch. The unnatural, upright position of the lion stems from his extremely painful wounds. The wide-open mouth is also intended to express a final roar of anguish (compare Figs. 9-10 with Figs.

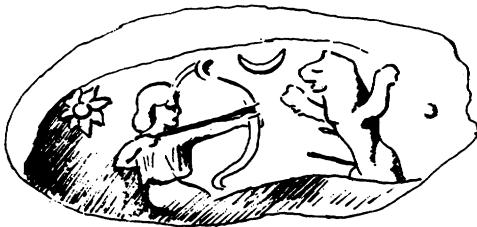


FIG. 9. Persian king shooting a lion.

5-7). The Judean engraver has taken only one part of the Achaemenid glyptic motif. But for the complete scene in the Achaemenid impressions, it would be difficult to understand the representation on the Judean seal-impressions.^{22a}

G. Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis*, III (London, 1910), 41-43, Pls. 35-37; E. Akurgal, *Anatolia*, I (1966), 20-24; K. Balkan, *Anatolia*, IV (1959), 123-128; E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II (Chicago, 1957), 4-49, Pls. 2-19; A. Goetze, *Berytus*, VIII (1943), 97-101. Most important to our subject is the treasure of the copies of stampings found in a Persian period tomb at Ur, described by Woolley and Legrain as a "collector's cabinet"; see L. Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, XII (1932), 389-390; L. Legrain, *Ur*, X (London, 1951), ix. However, in view of the complete similarity of these finds to the rest of the finds mentioned above, the assumption is justified that here, too, the case is of seal-impressions which had been made from seals belonging to officials of the local administrative office.

²² Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, Pl. 10, seal No. 22 (PT4, 675; PT4, 385; PT4, 784). Legrain, *Ur*, X, Pl. 40, seal No. 759.

^{22a} [F. M. Cross, Jr., calls attention to the common depiction of a royal hero killing a rampant lion with a sword; see *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, edd. D. N. Freedman and J. Greenfield (Garden City, N.Y., 1969) Fig. 37 opp. p. 120, with many parallels on Sidonian coinage and on seals from Persepolis. Ed.]

The borrowing of Achaemenid imperial motifs on these seals becomes even more evident when we examine the second object present, that whose interpretation posed such great difficulties for the excavators. In fact, it is none other than a schematic depiction of the Achaemenid



FIG. 10. Persian king shooting a lion.

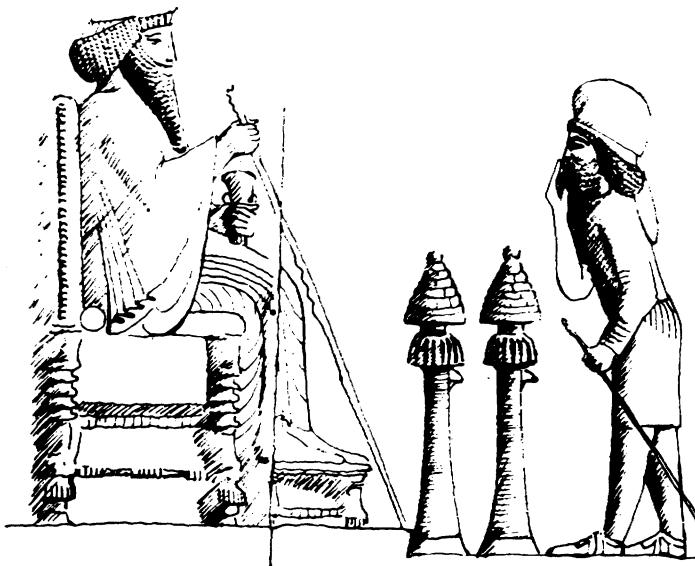


FIG. 11. Relief from the palace of Darius I at Persepolis.

“fire-altar.” The several degrees of degeneration from the original motif can be observed only by determining the correct chronological sequence of the seal-impressions. All the details appear on a stone relief from the palace of Darius I at Persepolis (Fig. 11).²³ On two seal-impressions

²³ See A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1959), Pl. 30; and Schmidt, *Persepolis*, X, Pl. 69 f.

found at Ur (Fig. 12),²⁴ the altar is already schematically depicted, but the form is still fairly clear. The altar on the seal-impression from Gibeon (Fig. 5) is similar to that on the impression from Ur. The forms of the altar on the impressions from Ramat Rahel, on the other



FIG. 12. Seal-impression from Ur.

hand, have undergone considerable change, and they seem to have lost their original meaning (Figs. 6-7). In Fig. 13, the altars from the Persepolis (1), Ur (2), Gibeon (3) and Ramat Rahel (4) impressions are presented side-by-side for comparison.

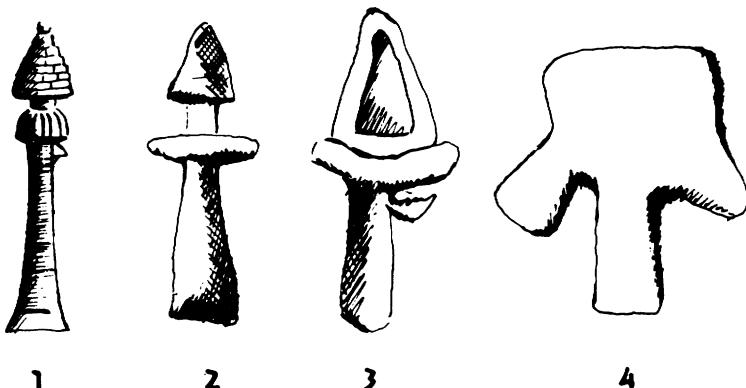


FIG. 13. Representations of a "fire-altar" from 1) Persepolis; 2) Ur; 3) Gibeon; 4) Ramat Rahel.

If the motifs on the Judean impressions were borrowed from the Achaemenid repertoire, it is reasonable to look there also for the origin of the other motifs found on types A and C.

Indeed, the motifs of the walking and roaring lions are common in

²⁴ Legrain, *Ur*, X, Pl. 41, impressions Nos. 779-780.

a hoard from Ur (Fig. 14);²⁵ furthermore, the bull motif with solar orb (type C) is also found there (Fig. 15).²⁶

The quality of the workmanship on the seals from Judah is inferior, of course, and they were probably made by local engravers attempting to imitate Achaemenid prototypes. A single impression from Judah, the one from En-Gedi representing a lion, comes closer to Persian workmanship (Fig. 4).

The group of seal-impressions from Persepolis is from the reign of Darius I (522-486 B. C.).²⁷ The impressions from Ur are more recent, assigned by Woolley and Legrain to the second half of the fifth century B. C. (the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II, 465-404 B. C.).²⁸ This dating agrees with the period of the Judean impressions as suggested by



FIG. 14.



FIG. 15.

us on the basis of stratigraphical context. It should be remembered, however, that the motifs are all in a pure Achaemenid style, free of any of the grecizing influences common in the fourth century B. C. throughout the Achaemenid empire.²⁹

What purpose did the seals serve? Though they may have been used by private persons, it is more probable that they were used by officials connected with the administration of the province of Judah. The second possibility would agree with the explanation given to the body of impressions discovered at Persepolis, Telloh, Dascylium and Memphis, all of which represent copies of seals belonging to officials serving in the administration of the Persian empire.³⁰

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. 41, impression No. 797; Pl. 43, impression No. 836.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. 41, impression No. 790.

²⁷ Seal No. 33, from Persepolis, is a seal belonging to an official named Artadana who worked at the imperial treasury there during the reign of Darius I; see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, II, pp. 16, 30-31.

²⁸ Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, XII, p. 390; Legrain, *Ur*, X, pp. ix-x.

²⁹ Cf. especially G. M. A. Richter, *Hesperia Suppl.*, VIII (1949), 291-298; E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, I (Washington, 1948), 101-105, and the bibliography there.

³⁰ See note 21, above.

Indirectly, this assumption is strengthened by the evidence of a seal from Tell Qasile bearing a different motif, also common in official Persian glyptic art; it bears the inscription “(belonging) to ‘Ašanyahu, Servant of the King.”³¹ Prof. Mazar has ascribed this seal to an official in the service of the Persian king. Thus, even a local, non-Persian official borrowed a motif from the Persian imperial officials.³² If, indeed, these seals belonged to officials of the province of Judah, there arises the question of what sort of seals were used by officials in Samaria. It is now known from discoveries in Wādi ed-Dāliyeh³³ that a local dynasty ruled in this province. The Wādi ed-Dāliyeh finds are dated precisely by documents to 375-332 B. C.: numerous seal-impressions are among those finds, though they have yet to be published. Cross has indicated that they represent two different styles, Achaemenid and Attic.³⁴ This is in agreement with the accepted opinion that during the fourth century B. C. Greek glyptic art strongly influenced Persian imperial glyptic art.³⁵

We know of three additional seal-impressions from the satrapy of Samaria, two from the site of Samaria and one from Shechem.³⁶ All three are in a pure Achaemenid style, but they differ from those found in Judah in their workmanship. Samaria apparently used imported seals, not local imitations as in Judah.³⁷

The difference between these impressions and those bearing the name *yhw̄d* (“Judah”) is outstanding. The latter, in my opinion, also belonged to officials serving the administration of the province,³⁸ but much later in the Persian period.³⁹

³¹ B. Maisler (Mazar), *Israel Exploration Journal*, I (1950/51), pp. 212-214, Fig. 14f, Pl. 37f.

³² To judge from the motif on this seal, which shows Greek influence, it would seem that its date should be lowered to the end of the fifth century or even the fourth century B. C. Such a date was assigned to the coins of the Persian satrapy and to the *yhw̄d* coins, on which this motif was quite common. Cf., in this matter, B. Mazar, *op. cit.* (above, n. 31), p. 212, n. 48.

³³ F. M. Cross, *Biblical Archaeologist*, XXVI (1963), 110-121; *idem*, *Harvard Theological Review*, LIX (1966), 201-211.

³⁴ Altogether, 130 impressions and seals; cf. Cross, *Biblical Archaeologist*, XXVI, p. 115.

³⁵ “One is particularly struck with the vivacity of Attic Greek influences in the glyptic art of Samaria in the era before the coming of Alexander” (*loc. cit.*).

³⁶ G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher and D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), Pl. 57h, 1-2; J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot and K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste III* (London, 1957), 88, Pl. XV, No. 42; Wright, *Shechem*, p. 168, Fig. 94. The date of the two seal-impressions from Samaria was not established by the excavators, but the Achaemenid style indicates an early date. The impression from Shechem is assigned to stratum V, which came to an end in 475 B. C.

³⁷ In the absence of inscriptions on the seal-impressions, we are unable to establish the administrative ranks of the officials owning the seals. See W. Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen* (Leipzig, 1940). However, there is no doubt that they were officials of the treasury in charge of tax-collecting.

³⁸ Although F. M. Cross has suggested in *Eretz-Israel*, IX (1969), pp. 22-27, that they were potters’ marks, this interpretation is irrelevant as far as the *yhw̄d* coins are concerned. The present writer would adhere to the accepted interpretation, that the coins and seal-impressions were issued and used by the satrapy officials in charge of tax-collecting.

³⁹ The stratigraphical data adduced by various excavators in establishing the date

The replacement of seals with Achaemenid motifs by seals bearing only the name of the province (though often accompanied by schematic symbols) may indicate a reform in the administration of Judah during the second half of the fifth century B. C.⁴⁰ Alt has proposed that during the days of Nehemiah (ca. 445-432 B. C.)⁴¹ the position of Judah underwent a principal change: Judah freed herself from the control of Samaria to become an independent province.⁴² The use of *yhwd* seals and the minting privileges of the province of Judah should also possibly be ascribed to this development. Whatever the exact course of events may have been, the change in the type of seals indicates that there was some sort of reform within the Persian administration of Judah, and that it occurred no later than the beginning of the fourth century B. C.

THE GENEALOGY OF GIBEON (I CHRONICLES 9:35-44): BIBLICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS *

AARON DEMSKY

This paper is an attempt to analyze the Chronicler's genealogy of Gibeon and to show its bearing on the inscribed handles from el-Jib.

The Genealogy

The genealogy of Gibeon appears in two recensions: the first in I Chronicles 8:29-40 and the second in 9:35-44.¹

of the *yhwd* impressions are vague. The one reliable fact concerns only the find from Gibeon, and, as already noted, Gibeon was destroyed at the beginning of the fifth century B. C. Only animal motif and *mush* impressions were found there, none of the *yhwd* type having been discovered. The chronology of these impressions, therefore, is based mainly upon purely palaeographical considerations. The *yhwd* impressions can, in our opinion, further be dated by comparing them to the *yhwd* coins. In the latter, a most definite Attic influence is evident, typical of the fourth century B. C. Furthermore, we may date the *yhwd* coins indirectly. The *yhwd* coins are part of the large family of so-called "Philisto-Arab" coins. The only large hoard of this type found in Israel included several coins of Alexander; see G. Lambert, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, II (1932), 1-10; Pl. 1. The author hopes to deal more fully with this subject on another occasion.

⁴⁰ Cf. Aharoni's opinion that several of the symbols accompanying the *yhwd* inscriptions are direct continuations of those used in the (independent) kingdom of Judah, prior to the destruction of the temple (*Ramat-Ra'el*, 1959-1960, p. 35).

⁴¹ For this date see H. Tadmor, "Chronology," *Encyclopaedia Migrat*, IV (Jerusalem, 1962), 305-306 (Hebrew).

⁴² A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II (München, 1953), 316-337.

* I wish to thank Professors B. Mazar, A. Malamat and H. Tadmor for their enlightening comments on various aspects of this paper.

¹ See the standard commentaries, and in addition, the recent analysis of this list and others, as well as much relevant material on genealogies in the ancient Near East in A. Malamat, "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXVIII (1968), 163-173, esp. 171 ff.